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WELSH NATIONALISM AND HENRY TUDOR.

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From the "Transactions" of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, Session 1917-18.

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I.

The forces which enabled the subtle grandson of Owen Tudor to wrest the sceptre from the last of the fierce Plantagenets and to win a kingdom for his house have not received a complete or even an adequate treatment from historians. This may be due to the dreary and melancholy course of events which culminated at Bosworth Field. For the Wars of the Roses are generally represented as a dynastic feud which embroiled the whole nation, or as a protracted faction-fight, animated by no ideals or principles, and productive only of a desolating anarchy. Yet if we turn our eyes beyond the Severn we may discern the profound significance of the struggle for Wales. There the issues are involved with national sentiments and aspirations, and Welsh intervention, in a

[1] Read (in part) before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, at 64, Chancery Lane, London. Chairman—W. Llewelyn Williams, Esq., K.C., M.P., the Recorder of Cardiff.

manner often puzzling to the English historian, frequently turns the scales. Because Henry Tudor was a Welshman, relying on Welsh support, and because his cause in Wales elevated the struggle to a national issue, the main interest of the Wars of the Roses, it seems to me, must be sought in Wales.

I propose, in this sketch, merely to indicate some of the forces that welded tribal Wales into a nation, and that created so passionate a devotion to the Tudor throne. But a preliminary enquiry, though it must be summary, is relevant and essential. A careful and competent English historian of the House of Lancaster has drawn a lurid picture of Wales in the fifteenth century; a "poor and barbarous land" with a "ragged and half-naked peasantry" living in squalor on the outskirts of the English walled towns, disarmed and cowed under the shadow of the mighty castles of their conquerors.[1] If such was the condition of the Welsh people, the part they played in the Wars of the Roses is, indeed, inexplicable. But the unanimous voice of contemporary literature tells another story. The vigorous and splendid social life mirrored in countless poems—the chieftains whose tables were loaded with the choicest of foreign fruits, currants, cinnamon and oranges from the south, and the wines of Rochelle, Bordeaux and Gascony, whose walls were hung with the rich tapestry of Arras, and whose dwellings resounded with the music of harps; the splendour of the monasteries, the "gold adorned choir", the crystal windows, the lofty roofs resplendent with the bearings of princes, the light of torches and the burning of incense, the rich tombs with sculptured figures and arms of the dead,—this is not the reflection of a rude and barbaric

[1] Wylie, *History of England under Henry the Fourth* (London, 1884), vol. i, chap. viii.

society. But—to take an obvious test of economic prosperity—there are innumerable proofs that the Welsh could equip, maintain and move armies. The poems clearly demonstrate that they were not, in spite of the ordinances of Henry IV, a disarmed people. The warrior chief, greater than Arthur in his cuirass, whose white hand lays low a host,[1] has often his stores of arms with which he equips his followers. A contemporary *englyn* preserves a vignette of the war band and its lord:

Mae llu yn Rhosyr, mae llyn,—mae eurgylch,
Mae f'arglwydd Llewelyn,
A gwyr tal yn ei ganlyn,
Mil a myrdd mewn gwyrdd a gwyn.

[There is a host in Rhosfair, there is drinking, there are golden bells. There is my lord Llewelyn and tall warriors follow him; a thousand, a host in green and white.]

In this civilization literary culture was pre-eminent; the existence of a large class of bards who supported themselves by their craft is, in itself, an indication of the state of society. The literature, too, is no product of barbarism and misery; in no period of Welsh history was there so prolific, so scholarly or so finished an output. It contrasted strangely with the condition of contemporary literature in England, where a deep silence had fallen on the land, the profound and expectant hush before the dawn and the music of the Elizabethan 'singing-birds'. But the Welsh poetry of this century is finished art—a little too self-conscious perhaps—but art of a high order, polished and dignified in elegy, sparkling and tender in the love poem, skilful and epigrammatic in eulogy and, what is more precious, adorned throughout with an abundant imagery and a rich fancy.

[1] Mwy nag Arthur mewn curas,
Milwr o gryfdwr a gras . . .
Llaw wen a bair llenwi bedd,
Llaw a yr llu i orwedd.

Wales, it is true, was rent with anarchy and internecine strife, due to the absence of any centralized administration and aggravated by the 'over-mighty' Marcher-lords incessant in border warfare, but it was a people in arms, inured to fighting and skilled in the arts of war. The energy, military skill and (it must be added) the treachery displayed in tribal feud was soon to be diverted to a larger issue by a cause which appealed to the historic memories and the ancient aspirations of the race.

II.

The outbreak of the Wars of the Roses divided the Welsh for York and Lancaster. It is impossible, on the available data, to comprehend all the influences which determined Welsh support, yet some are manifest throughout the struggle, and of these it is clear that the operation of ties of kindred was not the least important.

Hitherto little attention has been paid to clan relationship in Wales; yet there are indications that considerations of kinship influenced partisanship in no small degree. The ancient Welsh tribal system was based on kindred; the members of a tribe, being descended from a common ancestor, were all akin to one another. This system had been modified by many forces, Norman law, feudalism, and the English conquest. But among a people naturally conservative and tenacious of tradition systems hallowed by custom die hard, and there can be no doubt that there were survivals of purely Welsh tribal forms as late as the mid-fifteenth century. The extent of these survivals of a byegone economy is worthy of close investigation, for were this point definitely decided it would explain much of the Welsh attitude to York and Lancaster. A clan relationship might be established tentatively on a common ancestor at a very remote period:

it is conceivable, for example, that the descendants of Cunedda might have formed defensive and offensive alliances for many centuries after his death. Precisely how far this principle operated in later times is not known. There might, too, be ties other than those of common descent, such as alliances by marriage between powerful members of two tribes. Of course it is obvious that such clan alliances did not prevent internecine strife —the *History of the Gwydir Family* contains abundant proof of this—but there does not seem to be any evidence that this ever expanded into tribal conflict.

The influence of kinship in determining the groupings of the Welsh for the Red Rose and White is clear. I select two instances out of many. Sir William Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke, was a staunch Yorkist, and under his influence all Siluria became Yorkist. This was undoubtedly due to the vast ramifications of his family in that country where every chieftain of importance was a descendant of Sir David Gam, the grandfather of Sir William Herbert. The lord of Herast, Thomas ap Rhosser, a second son of Sir Roger Vaughan, the son-in-law of David Gam, was beheaded as a Yorkist partisan at Banbury. He had two brothers, both of whom were powerful chiefs in Siluria and both were Yorkists. Sir Thomas Vaughan of Tretower, the son of one of these brothers, served Edward IV in eighteen engagements; his brother, Watkin Vaughan of Talgarth, was a captain under the Duke of York and was rewarded for his services by the office of constable of Carmarthen. William Vaughan, another great-grandson of Sir David Gam, was appointed constable of Aberystwyth Castle and mayor of the town in the reign of Edward IV. All the members of the various branches of Sir David Gam's family seemed to have followed Sir William Herbert, who represented the

eldest line, and adhered to the White Rose.[1] Considerations of kindred were as powerful among the Lancastrian adherents of North Wales. The wild country of Nantconway was held for the Lancastrians until 1468 by Jevan ap Robert ap Meredydd and Dafydd ap Siencyn.[2] Jevan ap Robert was undoubtedly a kinsman of the Tudors and followed their lead. Dafydd ap Siencyn's attitude seems also explicable on the same grounds. The famous outlaw of Carreg y Walch, was perhaps the most romantic figure of his age:

Thy castle the depth of the forest,
Thy towers are the oaks of the vale,
Stag of the stags of Nant Conway,
. . . . .
The jewel of all the handsome,
The Butterfly of all the gallants.

The splendid eulogy which celebrates his deeds significantly emphasizes his kinship with the Tudors:—

Peacock from the battle of Pembroke,
Tall kinsman to Harry thou,
The word has been given thee for ever,
Earl Richmond has given it forth,
Sprung from the best of ancestors—
From Rhys Gethin, an Elphin art thou . . .
Thou art kind to the Stags; thou art kinsman
To the Earl. A conqueror art thou.[3]
The sword of the Earls[4] thou art also:
A monarch art thou in our land.
In quiet thou holdest all Gwynedd . . . .
Kinsmen eight score are about thee.[5]

[1] See poems addressed to various members of this family in *The Works of Lewis Glyn Cothi* (Oxford, 1837) Dos. I.

[2] *History of the Gwydir Family* (ed. 1878), pp. 54, 75; Rymer, *Foedera*, xi, pp. 444-446; Williams, *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 85; Pennant, *Tours in Wales* (ed. Rhys), vol. ii, p. 157.

[3] "Car yr iarll, concwerwr wyd".

[4] Henry, Earl of Richmond, and Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke.

[5] For a text of the poem, see *Y Brython*, vol. iii, p. 99. A translation by J. Glyn Davies, from which the above extracts are taken, appeared in *The Nationalist*, vol. i, no. 4.

Dafydd was of the tribe of Marchudd and of the same generation as Meredydd ap Tudor, the father of Owen Tudor, and related to him in the eighth degree.[1]

Further, the fact that so many of the chieftains followed the heads of their tribes would seem to suggest that their hypothetical headship was still recognized, and this implies a considerable operation of the ancient Welsh tribal forms. Could the relationship of the Tudors, for example, to the other clans of North Wales be accurately determined, the precise extent of these survivals would be apparent. If the chieftainship of the tribe lay with the Penmynydd family, then the groupings of the North Walian clans points to the survival of the military overlordship of the 'pen-cenedl' and of his right to call on his kindred in time of war. But, on the available data, it is only possible to establish the influence of kinship in determining the partisanship of the Welsh; the other

[1] Thus:—

Iorwerth ap Edryd
5th in descent from Marchudd.

Ewgan				Iddon
Iorwerth	.. ..	1	.. ..	Cynric
Cynric	.. ..	2	.. ..	Grono
Edynfed Vychan	..	3	.. ..	Madoc
Grono	.. ..	4	.. ..	Dafydd
Tudor	.. ..	5	.. ..	"Y Crach"
Grono..	.. ..	6	.. ..	Dafydd
Sir Tudor	.. ..	7	.. ..	Siencyn
Meredydd ap Tudor		8	.. ..	Dafydd ap Siencyn
Owen Tudor.				

questions cannot be settled except by a closer investigation of the pedigrees.

The second and the most decisive factor in determining the Welsh attitude, throughout the Wars of the Roses but with a special force after the appearance of Henry Tudor, was the appeal to national sentiment. Such Welsh nationalism as existed in the fifteenth century has its roots deep in the past and far beyond the bounds of the century itself. For its true origin is to be found in the *Historia Regum* of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Fortunately it is here besides the point to enter into any of the vexed questions concerning that famous book which have been argued by scholars with all the apparatus of learning and criticism. Let us describe it as a romance, but a romance with an object to achieve—the glorification of the British race. But it has a twofold significance; it is a vital factor in estimating the forces at work in Wales during the fifteenth century, and, moreover, it profoundly affected every writer of history down to the eighteenth century. Geoffrey's version of British history, and with it his conception of nationality, was eagerly accepted throughout the middle ages. True there were two voices who protested; William of Newburgh denounced the fables and falsehoods of Geoffrey[1]—a denunciation possibly inspired by his dislike of the Welsh[2]—whilst the egregious vanity of Giraldus Cambrensis found vent in sneers.[3] But these availed nothing in the chorus of uni-

[1] William of Newburgh, *Proemium*, pp. 11-13 (*Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, vol. i, Rolls Series).

[2] See preface to "*The British History, translated into English from the Latin of Jeffrey of Monmouth*", by Aaron Thompson [London, 1718].

[3] *Itin. Kambriae*, i, 5 (Works of Giraldus Cambrensis, vol. vi, p. 58, Rolls Series). "Contigit aliquando, spiritibus immundis nimis eidem insultantibus, ut Evangelium Johannis ejus in gremio pomeretur:

versal approbation; the authority of the *History* was unquestioned and unshakened[1] until the criticisms of Polydore Vergil in the sixteenth century.[2] Hence, regardless of its truth or falsehood, it is of supreme importance as a living force moulding and directing the conceptions and the aspirations of the mediæval Welshman.

It is not, perhaps, too much to assert that the first definition of nationality of any force or clearness appears in the *Historia Regum*. There are vague foreshadowings in Gildas, but no real evidence of conscious nationalism; there is a more precise and clearer perception in the composite 'Nennius', who recognizes the British as descended from Brutus and therefore as an honourable race whose unity is implied in the national symbol of the Red Dragon, but it is difficult to see more in this than the recognition of some sort of political unity based on pride of race. But how wide is the gulf that divides Geoffrey from his sources! The *Historia Regum* displays a complete and imposing fabric of nationalism; there is the common descent from Brutus, taken, doubtless, from Nennius, but emphasized with a wealth of accretions; there is the national hero and greatest of kings, Arthur; there is the national prophet Merlin, the shadowy Ambrose of Nennius transformed into the mighty magican; there is the national code, the Molmutine laws, *quae usque ad hoc*

qui statim tanquam aves evolantes, omnes penitus evanuerunt. Quo sublato postmodum, et Historia Britonum a Galfrido Arthuro tractata, experiendi causa, loco ejusdem subrogata, non solum corpori ipsius toti, sed etiam libro superposito, longe solito crebrius et taediosius insederunt"; also *Descriptio Kambriae*, i, 7, (ibid., vol. vi, p. 179). "Wallia vero non a Walone duce, vel Wendoloena regina, sicut fabulosa Galfridi Arthuri mentitur historia".

[1] It was quoted by Edward I in a controversy with Pope Boniface VIII (Thompson, *loc. cit.*).

[2] See also article by Prof. W. Lewis Jones in the *Quarterly Review*, 1906.

tempus inter Anglos celebrantur,' given by the national law-giver, and there is the national emblem of the Red Dragon. It is in no way appropriate here to examine Geoffrey's motives; it may well be that he was inspired to create an epic of the Angevin empire or that he intended so convey to the world that this great race, endowed with all the attributes of a nation, needed but a metropolitan see to fulfil its destiny, and that the humble author of the *History* was manifestly fitted to be the occupant of that see, whether at Caerleon or at Menevia.[2] Geoffrey's ambitions were foiled, the hopes of a metropolitan were soon to vanish, but the *Historia Regum* remained. It remained to become a fount of Romance and to bequeath a delineation of nationalism that was treasured and guarded by Geoffrey's countrymen for three centuries. For it was this conception, fashioned with a wealth of colour and presented with great power, that captured the imagination of the fifteenth century.

[1] *Historia Regum* (ed. San Marte), I, xvii.

[2] My colleague, Mr. J. Glyn Davies, has advanced an ingenious surmise on Geoffrey's treatment of this question. He assumes, with Sebastian Evans, that there were two editions of the *History*—the first without the Merlin prophecies, the second with them. In the first Geoffrey indicated Caerleon as the historic metropolitan see; in the second "Menevia shall be robed in the pall of Caerleon" (Bk. viii, c. 3). This change would seem to be accounted for by an event which put Caerleon out of the running, possibly the canonization of St. David by Pope Calixtus II or the death of Bernard, which left Geoffrey a candidate for St. David's, coming after the appearance of the first edition. Or it is possible that Bernard, the first Norman bishop of St. David's, was attempting to obtain the metropolitan there. Further, in the Chartularies of Llandaff, a great historic claim is made for Llandaff as the chief of the Welsh sees—the bishopric of no less a saint than Dyfrig. Bishop Urban, who fought for the supremacy of Canterbury, thus argued before Calixtus II that the greatest see in Wales had always been under Canterbury. In this three-cornered contest, Geoffrey abandoned Caerleon and declared for Menevia, in the Merlin prophecy.

III.

The bulk of the data for estimating the nature and strength of the national sentiment in Wales in the fifteenth century is furnished by the vaticinatory or prophetic literature of the period. Prophecy, in the ancient and mediaeval world, was always a powerful instrument in politics,[1] and nowhere did it flourish more than in Wales. The origin of Welsh vaticinations is certainly obscure, but it should be possible to link them up with the great body of mediaeval prophecies, religious, dynastic and national, which seem to have had their origin in the Sibylline books circulated in the first two centuries of the Christian era by the hellenized Jews of Alexandra. Certainly from the eleventh century, if not earlier, prophetic utterances exercised a great influence in Wales. But, for our purpose, it is not necessary to go beyond Geoffrey, for the Merlin prophecies of the seventh book of the *Historia Regum* are the bases for the later vaticinations. Of their importance in fashioning Welsh nationalism there can be no doubt. Merlin had prophesied the ultimate triumph of the Red Dragon—and his prophecies were at once the expression of the longings of the race and the stimulus to action. To them the English chroniclers attribute the restlessness of the Welsh, their fiery warlike spirit and their frequent insurrections:

> "Extollunt Troiae sanguinem,
> De quo ducunt originem . . . .
> Hoc consuevit fallere
> Et ad bella impingere
> Merlini vaticinium
> Et frequens sortilegium".

[1] On mediaeval prophecy see Döllinger, *Der Weissagungsglaube und das Prophetenthum in der christlichen Zeit.* (Historisches Taschenbuch, 1871) and the same author's *Prophecies and the Prophetic Spirit in the Christian Era* (London, 1873). In addition to examples quoted in

"They extol the blood of Troy of whom they took beginning . . . the prophecy of Merlin and often his witchcraft was wont to beguile them and to move them into battle".[1]

So potent was their influence that the English took many measures to counteract their effect, in 1170 even going so far as to disinter two bodies in the Vale of Avalon, which, it was professed, were the remains of Arthur and his queen, to shatter the Welsh hopes of the return of their king[2]—"which finding and translating is an objection to the fantasticall sayinge of the Welshe men that afferme his commynge again to reygne, as he before dyd".[3] But the renown of Merlin spread over Europe,[4] and, it is interesting to note, his prophecies were countenanced by the church,[5] which may perhaps explain why the English government never attempted to invoke the ecclesiastical censures against the Welsh prophet.

Of the origin and nature of the twelfth century vatici-

Döllinger, see also the interesting political prophecy of Peter of Pontefract. [W. Coventry, vol. ii, pp. 208, 211. R. Wendover, iv, pp. 240, 255-6. Ann. Tewkesbury, *a.* 1212 (Rolls Ser.)].

[1] Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. i, pp. 408, 410 [Rolls series].

[2] *Polychronicon*, viii, pp. 60-62.

[3] Fabyan, *Chronicle* (ed. Ellis, London, 1811), p. 278.

[4] In Brittany, in the middle of the 12th century, popular belief in the oracle was such that any doubter who maintained that Arthur had died in the ordinary way would have been stoned by the peeple (see Alanus de Insulis, *Prophetia Angelicana*, quoted in Döllinger, loc. cit.).

[5] Salimbene, *Chronica* (Mon. Germ. Hist. Scriptores, tome xxxii, p. 247). "Igitur scriptura Balaam et Heliu et Cayphé et Sibille et Merlini, Joachym atque Methodii ab ecclesia non spernitur, sed gratanter suscipitur, in quantum bona et utilia et vera dixerunt, quia, sicut dicit beatus Ambrosius: *verum a quocumque dicatur, a spiritu sancto est* . . . . . Ad idem facit quod dicit poeta:

Non rosa dat spinas, quamvis sit filia spine,
Nec viole pungunt, nec paradisus óbest."

The whole chronicle is instructive as revealing the attitude of the mediæval church towards prophecies, pagan and Christian.

nations contained in the Black Book of Carmarthen[1] it would not be relevant here, even if it were possible, to offer any surmises. But they have one noteworthy feature —they are written in verse. Prophecy was an ancient attribute of the poet[2]; and in Wales henceforward this function was to acquire a deeper significance: the true bard, in the line of Taliesin and Merlin, was to tune his muse to a loftier theme—to prophecy to the remnant of the British people the ultimate victory over the Saxon under a great leader, an Arthur or Cadwaladr. It would seem that this tradition was carried through the thirteenth century, for the most prolific writers of vaticinations were the bards Adda Vras and Y Bardd Cwsg, but as none of their poems are available it is impossible to gather their contents. In the fourteenth century, apparently, the vaticinations begin to be written for the purpose of a direct and immediate political propaganda: they centre round an Owen, who is to come from over the seas to redeem his countrymen from the Saxon yoke; the ancient prophecies concerning Owen ap Edwin or Owen of Manaw[3] are to be fulfilled in his person. It is possible, as has been suggested, that the expected leader was Owain Lawgoch.[4] During this century the prophecies are cast into the mould, which, later, became their traditional form. They are written in the 'cywydd' metre—now made the popular vehicle of poetic expression by Dafydd ap Gwilym. Before

[1] See *Hist. MSS. Com. Rept.* (*Welsh MSS.*), vol. i, pt. 2, Peniarth MS. 1. Also a printed text in Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, pp. 1-62.

[2] Plato, *Timaeus*, 71-2; *Ion*, 534; *Phædrus*, 244. The Greek oracles were in verse. Cf. also the mediaeval conception of Vergil as a prophet and soothsayer (see Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*).

[3] Stephens, *The Literature of the Kymry* (Llandovery, 1849), p. 216.

[4] See the interesting section by J. H. Davies in the article "Owain Lawgoch", in *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion* (1899-1900), pp. 81-105.

the century closed the vaticinatory 'cywydd' had received another designation: it becomes the 'cywydd brud' or 'brut'. The word itself, a 'transferred use of Brutus', meant originally a chronicle or history of the descendants of Brutus,[1] and later simply a chronicle. Whether the original transferred sense arose in Welsh or Old French seems doubtful, but it is worth while observing that, as Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans has pointed out, "the first use in Welsh is associated with historical works like *Brut y Tywyssogyon* and the Brutus Saxonum of Hengwrt MS. 8".[2] But by the close of the fourteenth century the word, in Welsh, had recovered its association with Brutus, the legendary founder of the British race, and thus is attached to the vaticinatory poetry which foretells the triumph of his descendants.[3]

Henceforward the vaticinations fall into three sections, each grouped round a political upheaval, and we can distinguish them as the Glyndwr, the Tudor and the Civil War Bruts. Few of the Glyndwr bruts have as yet been published, the most considerable body are to be found in the works of Iolo Goch. It is clear, however, that the form is now stereotyped, for the Tudor and Civil War bruts are in this traditional manner.

The Tudor bruts—which are our main concern here—are, with rare exceptions, written in the 'cywydd'—a form which seems to be almost entirely absent in Welsh

[1] See *The New English Dictionary* under "Brute".

[2] *The Red Book of Hergest*, Preface, p. vi.

[3] In the 15th century the "cywydd brud" was well understood to mean a cywydd which prophesied concerning the descendants of Brutus, *e.g.*:

Darllain brudiau r deheudir
Dwedydd ir Gwyndydd air gwir.—[Howel ap Dafi.]

Also:—

y brad llwyd kymysc brud a llaid
Brut hen llyfr y Brytaniaid.—[See Davies, *loc. cit.*]

literature before the fourteenth century.[1] In that century and the following its use is predominant and is associated with certain types of subject matter. Thus begging epistles, love poems, many eulogies and elegies (though this class of subject is frequently treated in the 'awdl' form), and vaticinations form the themes of the 'cywydd'. The bruts of the Wars of the Roses are almost all in this metre, the two notable exceptions being the Odes to Patrick and to St. David. This may well be significant: the 'cywydd', in addition to its unique adaptability for the well-turned phrase or the sparkling epigram of which the fifteenth century poet was a supreme master, had its advantages for oral transmission. It is, as compared with the more elaborate forms, easy to commit to memory, which might well commend it as a vehicle for political propaganda.[2] Moreover the use of the 'cywydd' for vaticinations suggests that the brut was now the concern of the "*teuluwr*" or household bard, for the form is essentially associated with household songcraft[3]—a fact that would seem to indicate that the appeal of the 'cywyddau brud' was to the chieftains.

The obstacles to a clear comprehension of the Tudor bruts (apart from the textual difficulties of imperfect transmission) are, in the main, due to their phraseology and allegorical form. Prophetic utterances, in all ages, have not been distinguished for clarity of expression; they are wont, like the Cumean oracle "obscuris vera involvens", to veil their truth in the dark saying. But there is a passage in the *Historia Regum* which would seem to yield a clue to the obscurity of the fifteenth

[1] J. Glyn Davies, *Welsh Metrics* (London, 1911), vol. i, p. 69.

[2] The frequent varying sequence of the couplets—the commonest form of divergence in the texts of different manuscripts—is strong evidence of oral transmission.

[3] *Welsh Metrics*, p. 70.

century vaticinators. Geoffrey relates that when Merlin had delivered his prophecies his hearers were stricken to wonderment by his obscure and equivocal sayings:

> Cum igitur haec et alia multa prophetasset Merlinus, ambiguitate verborum suorum astantes in admirationem commovit.[1]

Versed as they were in the Merlin lore, the bards aspired to be worthy successors to the mystical prophet and, to judge by their cryptic utterances, they did not fail. But, it must be observed, their obscurity is deliberate, it is unsafe at any time to attribute it to bad writing or clumsy phraseology, for the bards of this century were too accomplished grammarians to write slipshod Welsh. Indeed such ambiguities as exist in the texts, being deliberate, are themselves a tribute to their skill in the use of a language that does not readily lend itself either to pun or ambiguity. It is obvious that the contents of many of these poems were treasonable matter, and from motives of safety the bard concealed his meaning save to the initiated.[2]

The use of allegory is a feature common to all these poems. Prominent personages are introduced under allegorical names, generally, of animals. Lions, leopards, boars, serpents, dragons, bulls, lambs, eagles and ravens abound; in one 'awdl vryd' alone Lewis Glyn Cothi has collected between twenty and thirty animals forming, as his editor remarks,[3] a veritable menagerie. The unravelling of the menagerie is the most difficult of the problems connected with this species of poetry: the animals have to be identified, or their significance explained. As this use of allegory is conventional, many are taken direct

[1] *Historia Regum*, viii, 1.

[2] For the same reason he often feigned madness (*Gwydir Family*, p. 41, n. 2).

[3] *Lewis Glyn Cothi*, Dos. viii, 3.

from the older bruts, and especially from the Merlin prophecies of the *Historia*. Thus the 'draig' and the 'dragwn', found in almost all the poems is either the white dragon, 'which signified the Saxons', or the red dragon, 'which signified the British race'.[1] The lion, too, can often be identified with Geoffrey's 'Lion of Justice',[2] and there occur many others, the serpent, the lynx, the wolf, the bear, which are found in the Merlin prophecy. It should be possible, then, to distinguish all the animals common to the bruts and those peculiar to the period. But it is by no means safe to eliminate from the poems all animals found in the earlier prophecies; it has to be determined in every case whether the use is traditional or whether it has a topical meaning. One example will illustrate the pitfall awaiting the hasty investigator: the Boar figures often, both in the Merlin prophecies and in the Tudor poems, but in the latter it has a special significance, as it is used to represent King Richard III.[3]

The Bull, which is also an emblem in the *Historia*, has a special usage in this century. It is clear from the vaticinations and the eulogies and elegies that the animal typifies persons of great power and influence. So Guto'r Glyn addresses Edward IV:

> "Mae r Tarw mawr Mortmeriaid?"
> ["Where is the great Bull of the Mortimers?"]

and Dafydd Llwyd ap Llewelyn refers to Henry Tudor:

> "Darw o Fon yn digoni",
> "Hwn yw gobaith yr iaith ni".
>
> ["A Bull of Anglesey demanding satisfaction",
> "He is the hope of our race"].[4]

But, apparently, the 'black bull' is only used to designate

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[1] *Historia Regum*, vii, 3.
[2] *Historia Regum*, vii, 3.
[3] See page 18.
[4] See Appendix II.

Henry or Jasper Tudor. Lewis Glyn Cothi expressing the anxious expectation of his countrymen for the arrival of the fleet from Brittany, thus addresses Jasper:

Pa vor y mae d'angorau?
Pa bwnt lle 'r wyt hwnt, wr tau?
Pa bryd, (pa hyd y'n hoedir?)
Y tarw du y troi i'dir?
Gwyl Vair, gwylia o voroedd,
Gwynedd wen dan ganu 'dd oedd.[1]

["In what seas are thy anchors, and where art thou thyself? When wilt thou, Black Bull, come to land; how long shall we wait? On the Feast of the Virgin fair Gwynedd, in her singing, watched the seas".]

The begging poems of the century would seem to indicate a reason for this special use of the black bull. The south Wales poets ask for red bulls; two splendid poems by the southern bards Llawdden and Bedo Brwynllys, give a minute description of this animal. On the other hand the north Wales begging epistles ask for black cattle; Tudur Aled, for example, demands a bull "whose colour is that of the blackberry or the sea coal—like the bulls of Anglesey". Thus the 'black bull', symbolizing the Tudor, bears its ancient epithetic use of power and influence and also an added association with the home of the family.

Heraldry often furnishes a clue, for many of the animals are taken from the heraldic bearings of the person they represent. Thus Sir Rhys ap Thomas figures as the raven, for his arms were a chevron sable between three ravens on a white field.[2] Richard III, as already noted, appears as the Boar or Hog, for his cognisance was a boar,[3] a fact

[1] *Lewis Glyn Cothi*, Dos. viii, 5.
[2] Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations*, vol. i, p. 210, n. 7.
[3] Holinshed, *Chronicle*, 746.

which had also provoked in England the rhyme which cost William Collingbourne his life:

> "The catte, the Ratte and Lovell our Dogge
> Rulyth all England under the Hogge".
>
> "The which was meant that Catesby, Ratclyffe and the Lord Lovell ruled all the lande under the Kinge which bore the whyte bore for his cognisance".[1]

It is possible—though of this I have as yet seen no indication—that English political songs and contemporary doggerel may have had an influence on the phraseology of the bruts.

In addition to the difficulties of identifying the allegorical figures there are other obscurities. There are many astronomical references, and, although it is clear from numerous manuscripts that the astronomy studied was the Ptolomaic system, it has yet to be determined whether the stars and the spheres were, in their turn, subjected to allegorical treatment. Countless references to legend and folk lore, the lives of the saints, and the heritage of myth and history which was so carefully treasured by the scholarly poets are woven into the fabric of their poetry. To read the riddle of this literature is no easy task; but again it must be emphasized that its obscurity was deliberate. The bards, however, spoke of current events in terms well understood by the fraternity and, with the aid of the *teuluwr*, by the educated chieftains of the day, and references now obscure were then intelligible. It is of course obvious that the large mass of this material, calendared in the Historical Manuscripts Commission reports, must be subjected to the severest critical tests before it can safely be used as historical sources. A systematic palæographical survey, to date the manuscript apart from its contents and to deter-

[1] Fabyan, 672.

mine its provenance, will supply data for estimating its value. For example, where strong motives have existed for literary forgery, as in the case of Henry VII's genealogy or in the MSS. of the sixteenth century, when feeling was running high because of Polydore Vergil's criticisms, or of the seventeenth century, when there was a skilful school of forgery in Glamorgan, the material must be strictly scrutinized. All this can be freely admitted. The plea here is that this great body of literature should no longer be treated as the idle ravings of bards, 'full of sound and fury, signifying nothing'. Of the reality of the influence of the bruts there can be no doubt. Even an imperfect knowledge such as we have of the vaticinatory literature and of its permanence and long duration clearly demonstrates its significance in fashioning and perfecting the Welsh nationalism that found its vindication on Bosworth field.

IV.

The historical value of the *cywyddau brud* is not to be estimated by the facts they contain—for these pious wishes do not attest any particular political events nor do they give the precise personal data furnished by the eulogies and elegies—but by their worth as cumulative evidence. They are no empty cabalistic utterances, for they have preserved, in a remarkable way, a uniform mould. They remain as largely unsolved riddles, (and whilst such a mass of documents is unexplained it cannot be said that this period of Welsh history has been thoroughly investigated), yet they have—as they stand—a real value in estimating the force of the sentiments that were stirring men's minds. The nationalism of an age is reflected, if anywhere, in the contemporary literature, and the data for estimating the nature and strength

of the national sentiment in Wales in the fifteenth century is to be found, as I believe, in these vaticinatory poems.

What, then, can be gathered from the vaticinations as to the nationalism of Wales during the Wars of the Roses?. In the first place the very fact of their being written and their obvious descent from the prophecies of the *Historia Regum* shows beyond doubt that a national sentiment of a particular kind was in vigorous being—and that sentiment based on a common racial descent from Brutus of Troy. On the other hand there is, apparently, a lack of definite pronouncements on a conception of Welsh nationality that would embrace both North and South Wales; when a Venedotian poet writes a brut he may speak of Wales but he probably means Gwynedd. Nor can the common hatred of the Saxon, which often finds vigorous expression, be taken to postulate a nationalistic sentiment. There is not, in fact, any sufficient reason for assuming homogeneity; and it is quite probable that the North and the South each considered themselves the true representatives of Brutus. But there can be no doubt that the national cause was bound up with the Brutus descent. Wales, before the final rally around Henry Tudor, was divided for York and Lancaster. The Yorkist partisans found their justification in the Mortimer descent from Gwladys, the daughter of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth:

Mae r tarw mawr mortmeriaid [1]
Mynn o ty bleddyn dy blaid
. . . .

[1] This line is metrically defective. Mostyn MSS.1, 146/231, 160/174, Jesus College MS. 17/551, Havod MS. 3/107, Peniarth MS. 152/105, and Llanstephen MS. 168/172, read "*Mae r tarw mawr or mortmeriaid*". Llanstephen MS. 125/172 has "*Y tarw mawr or mortmeriaid*".

. . . . .

Tro dy nerth at ryw dy nain
O vrenin costwin Castil
a gwladus du galw dy stil

. . . . .

dyret ty hun Edwart hir
i ffrwyno kyrff rai enwir
wrth ddysc a chyfraith esgud
lles vab Koel dyfnwal moel mud

. . . . .

disgin Edward vrenin vry
dwyll agamraint holl gymry.[1]

"Where is the great Bull of the Mortimers? Demand of the house of Bleddyn thy party . . . . Turn thy power to thy grandmother's race from the wine-giving king of Castile; Dark Gwladys thou art called by thy style . . . . Come thyself, tall Edward, to bind the bodies of the wicked by learning and swift law, thou Lles son of Coel and Dyfnwal Moelmud . . . . Descend Edward, king, on the deceits and wrongs of Wales".

The language of this and other poems shows that Edward IV was accepted as a Cymric King in the true line of Brutus, and, therefore, worthy of Welsh support. So it was that the Yorkists could draw army after army from Wales and could command the allegiance of some of the most powerful of the Welsh chieftains. Even after the appearance of Henry Tudor as a candidate for the throne many of the Welsh still adhered to the house of York. This would seem to argue a nationalism diverging into different parties, according to divergent acceptations of the Brutus succession. As against this it has yet to be determined how far personal interests decided partisanship: it seems clear, for example, that many of the North Wales clans were won over for Lancaster by the favour shown to the Tudors at the Court, and there are more than one instance of individuals transferring their support from one side to the other for motives of gain or

[1] *Kywyd moliant Brenin Edward IV*, by Gutto'r Glyn.

safety. The question of national sentiment is complicated by such external considerations, though the attitude of many Welsh partisans should be explicable from the data in the personal poems, but the influence of the bruts and their conception of nationalism was real and vital and must be adjusted with the disintegrating factors of clan alliances and groupings.

The last stage of the Wars of the Roses in Wales witnessed the concentration of Welsh support around Henry Tudor. Two political events may have assisted this.[1] The first was the death, after the battle of Tewkesbury, of the young Edward, son of Henry VI, and the last representative of the royal line of Lancaster. The Lancastrian claims devolved, as a result, upon Henry of Richmond, who, through his mother the Lady Margaret Beaufort, descended from John of Gaunt,[2] and so was entitled to the support of the Welsh adherents of the Red Rose. The second event was the murder of the young princes in the Tower and the assumption of the crown by Richard, Duke of Gloucester. This may well have completed the alienation of the Welsh Yorkists. Many of their leaders had already perished; William Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke, and his brother, Sir Richard Herbert, had been executed after the battle of Banbury, Gruffydd ap Nicolas had been slain at Mortimer's Cross. Their feelings now were outraged by a crime which extinguished the line of Edward IV. It is

[1] I have somewhat modified my views on the relative importance of these two events in the light of much helpful criticism from my Chairman, Mr. W. Llewelyn Williams, K.C., M.P.

[2] The Beaufort line descended from John Beaufort, the natural son of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swynford. It had been legitimatized in 1397 [see *Rot. Par.*, iii, 343], though the later Act of legitimization in 8 Henry IV added the phrase "excepta dignitate regali".

significant that after this event no Welsh armies rallied for Mortimer, though on more than one occasion Welsh support had turned the scales for Richard of York and his son, Edward. Nor is it unaccountable; the young princes were in the Brutus line. And whatever doubts have been cast in modern times on Richard's guilt it is certain that contemporary opinion held him responsible for this foul deed. Dafydd Llwyd ap Llewelyn, in welcoming Henry Tudor, makes a clear statement:—

> "Behold the bards are happier, the world goes easier after killing 'r'"[1]—a miserable grey letter . . . a Jew it was who put an end to the Horn of Britain . . . a servile Boar who, in his wardship did imprison the sons of Edward, and kill his two nephews who were young. Shame on the hang-lipped Saracen for slaying angels of Christ".

The Welsh Yorkists, then, were without a leader and without a cause. It was to be the task of Henry to win them for his cause and to unite the factions under his banner.

V.

The appeal of Henry Tudor to his countrymen was twofold: it was an appeal, based on kindred, to the chieftains of the land and it was an appeal to a sense of nationalism. A remarkable instance of his reliance on kinship is the letter he wrote to John ap Meredith, the powerful chieftain of Eifionydd and a relative of the Tudors. The terms of this missive are illuminating and deserve quotation in full:—

> "By the King.
>
> "Right trusty and well-beloved, wee greete you well: and whereas it is soe, that, through the helpe of Almighty

[1] The small "r" for Richard III is, in the poem, contrasted with the capital letters "I" (Jasper Tudor) and "H" (Henry).

God, the assistance of our loveing and true subjects, and the greate confidence that wee have to the nobles and commons of this our principalitie of Wales, we be entred into the same, purposing by the helpe above rehearsed, in all haste possible to descend into our realme of England, not only for the adoption of the Crowne, unto us of right appertaining, but also for the oppression of the odious tyrant Richard, late Duke of Gloucester, usurper of our said right; and moreover to reduce as well our said realme of England into its ancient estate, honour, and property, and prosperitie, as this our said principalitie of Wales, and the people of the same to their dear erst liberties, delivering them of such miserable servitude as they have piteously long stood in. We desire and pray you, and upon your allegiance strictly charge and command you, that immediately upon the sight hereof with all such power as ye may make, defencibly arrayed for the warre, ye addresse you towards us, without any tarrying upon the way, untill such time as ye be with us, wheresoever we shall be, to our aide, for the effect above rehearsed, wherein ye shall cause us in time to come to be your singular good Lord, and that ye faile not hereof as ye will avoyd our grievous displeasure, and answere it unto your perill.

"Given under our signet at our [*date and place omitted*].
"To our trustie and well beloved John ap Meredith ap Jevan ap Meredith".[1]

"The language of this letter", as one distinguished English historian has remarked, "is not a little extraordinary".[2] Henry treats the reigning king as a rebel against himself, and a tone so bold seems to imply great confidence in the issue. This is difficult to reconcile with the view of the English chroniclers and historians who, following Hall,[3] represent Henry's position when he landed, as very precarious—because no one of influence joined him until he was well on his way to Bosworth field. Even Rhys ap Thomas's attitude, according to this version,

[1] *Gwydir Family*, p. 48.
[2] Gairdner, *Richard III* (Cambridge, 1898), p. 214
[3] Hall, *Chronicle* (London, 1809), pp. 407, *et seq.*

was doubtful until Henry reached Shrewsbury. But the letter to John ap Meredith is not in the tone of a man "nypped at the verie stomacke",[1] with his followers despairing of a happy enterprise. Moreover all the Welsh accounts agree in making Rhys privy to the plot before the landing of Henry. The curious *Life of Sir Rhys ap Thomas*[2] has a lengthy description of the meeting of Rhys and Henry at Milford Haven and of the enthusiasm which marked Henry's progress through Wales. It is true that this biography has not the worth of a contemporary authority (for it was written early in the seventeenth century), and that it betrays an exaggerated estimate of its hero's part in the episode, but I am not disposed to accept the severe criticisms that have recently been passed on its value.[3] For, if we except the meagre details of the Croyland continuator, there is no contemporary account of Henry's journey through Wales, and we are compelled to follow Hall, the basis for the later writers, or the Welsh biographer. There is much, it seems to me, to be said in favour of *The Life of Sir Rhys ap Thomas*. Hall's *Chronicle* is manifestly a history written around a theme, "the union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancaster and Yorke".[4] His object is to show how the two factions in England, "being long in continual discension for the croune of this noble realme", finally united around the House of Tudor, "the undubitate flower and very heire of both". English politics are his concern

[1] Hall, *ibid.*

[2] *Cambrian Register*, 1795.

[3] Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses* (Cambridge, 1915), "We must therefore dismiss as worthless the idle story of the family biographer in the *Cambrian Register* . . ." (p. 6); also pp. 12-14, 23 and 211 ("there is so much deliberate fabrication in that document that it would be dangerous to place any reliance on it").

[4] See title page to the original edition of 1548.

and it would have in no way suited his purpose to have embodied the Welsh account even if he had knowledge of it. On the other hand the biographer, though he is as manifestly inspired by his theme and though he writes some fifty years later than Hall, was a Welshman with Welsh sources and local traditions accessible to him. That he could have given to the world a fabrication openly at variance with the story as accepted in South Wales is highly improbable. Moreover the Welsh poems, both vaticinatory and personal, are unanimous in speaking of Rhys as the mainstay of the expedition from the outset,[1] and the contemporary English ballad, *The Song of the Lady Bessy*, makes ap Thomas a party to the enterprise before Henry's landing.[2]

Another incident, recorded by Hall, would seem to indicate that Henry himself at least was confident of Welsh support. Early in 1485 Richard III, to thwart the designs of his enemies, contemplated a marriage with his niece, Elizabeth of York, the proposed bride of Henry,

[1] *e.g.*, Lewis Glyn Cothi's poem to Jasper Tudor--written before the landing:—

Cymer di, wyr Cymmry d'ach,
Y Vran yn dy gyvrinach.

Lewis Glyn Cothi, *Poems*, Dos. viii, 5.

[2] The ballad describes how Stanley, preparing for the plot, concealed the Lady Bessy in Leicester and sent Lord Strange to Richard III to lull his suspicions; and—

Thereon the hart's head was set full high . . .
Sir Gilbert Talbot ten thousand doggs
In one hour's warning for to be,
And Sir John Savage fifteen white hoods,
Which would fight and never flee;
Edward Stanley had three hundred men,
There were no better in Christantye;
Sir Rees ap Thomas, a knight of Wales certain,
Eight thousand spears brought he.

The most pleasant Song of Lady Bessy (Percy Soc.), p. 33.

but apparently, under pressure of public opinion, the plan was abandoned.[1] Hall gives some additional details :—

> ". . . tydynges were brought to hym [Henry] that Kynge Richard beynge without children and now wydower, entended shortly to mary with Lady Elizabeth his brothers daughter . . . He [Henry] tooke these newes as a matter of no small momente, and so all thynges considered it was of no less importaunce than he tooke it for. For this thyng only took awaie from all his compaignions their hope and courage that they had to obteine an happie enterprise. And therefore no marvell though it nypped hym at the verie stomacke when he thought that by no possibilitie he might attayne the mariage of any of Kynge Edwardes daughters, *which was the strongest foundation of his building*. . .
>
> "Wherfore makynge not many of his Councell, after dyverse consultacions he determined not yet to set forwarde but to tary and attempte how to get more ayde, more frendes and more stronger succoures. And amongest all other, it was thought moost expedient to allure by affinite in his ayde as a compagnion in armes Sir Walter Herbert a man of an aunciente stocke and greate powre emongest the Welshmen, whiche had wyth hym a faire Ladye to his suster, of age mature and ripe to be coupled in matrimonie. And for the acheuynge of this purpose, messengers were secretely sent . . . . but the weies were so well narrowly watched and so many spies laide that the messenger proceded not in his journey and busynes. . . . . The Earl of Richmond because he woulde no lenger lynger and weerry hys frends lyvynge continually betweene hope and feare, determyned in all conveniente haste to sett forwarde . . . .".[2]

The picture here of a plotter driven, by the collapse of his scheme, to a desperate enterprise is not one that accords with the character of the cool and cautious Henry, that "wonder for wise men".[3] If the marriage with Elizabeth was "the strongest foundation of his building" it is unlikely that a politician so shrewd and calculating would have proceeded with the expedition when this scheme collapsed. It is, it seems to me, indisputable that

[1] *Cont. Croyland*, 571, 572.

[2] Hall, *Chronicle*, pp. 409-410.

[3] See Bacon's *Henry VII.*

the Earl of Richmond attached less importance to securing the English Yorkists by this marriage than Hall would lead us to suppose. Henry relied on his own countrymen: his appeal was to his kindred in North Wales, and doubtless by this time he knew that Rhys ap Thomas and other 'men of power' in South Wales were committed to his cause. Hence, though the proposed marriage with the heiress of York would consolidate his position in England, the fact that he was ready to abandon it and yet carry out his plans for invasion indicates that, first and foremost, he looked with confidence to Wales for support.

Henry had every reason to put his trust in his fellow-countrymen. The ground had been prepared for his coming by the vigorous propaganda of the bards. For they recognized in him the appearance of a leader who might well claim to fulfil the prophecies; another Owen or Cadwaladr who could rescue his race. The attitude of the Welsh towards the Tudors had been doubtful and lukewarm, but once the bards realized the possibilities of Henry as a national hero they addressed themselves, with a vociferous zeal and with a remarkable success, to concentrate the national sentiment upon him. The nature of this propaganda is clear from the vaticinations. It was an appeal addressed to the chieftains for, as it has been observed, the obscurity of the bruts would make them difficult of comprehension except to the expert—the household bard of the chieftain. And, in an essentially tribal community, if the chieftains were once secured the people would follow their natural leaders. Hence it is that the bards stress the high descent of Henry, for that was his claim upon the chieftain of blood. The validity of his descent from Cadwaldr must stand or fall with the accuracy of the body of Welsh genealogies, but there can be no doubt that it was accepted at

the time. Yet as he appealed to the heads of clans the position of his family becomes a question of great importance. The myth of the modest origin and doubtful antecedents of the Tudors has already been exploded[1] and need not be touched on here. The contemporary poem which follows not only confirms beyond doubt the belief in Henry's exalted lineage but illustrates the strength of the national sentiment which centred round him. It is remarkable also because, unlike the great majority of the vaticinations, it is in the 'awdl' and not the 'cywydd' form. The title—Owdl Badrig—is curious: it may be that the name Patrick is used to typify Henry or, more likely, that the word is a form of 'Patricius'—a designation of nobility in the middle ages.

THE PATRICK ODE.[2]

Noble Lion, wherever thou comest thou art the avenger of the weak, even as an Emperor; and a higher honour, beloved man, was thine from the blood of Tewdwr.

The Tewdwr[3] of thy nation, of the stamp of the fathers of our hosts like lions or wolves; thy father and thy mother were surely ever the most excellent of mates.

Thy grace like Melwas, thousands seek thee and come to thy courts. Compared to thy mansions and thy towns the great city of Troy was but a hamlet.

The towns of Man are under seal to thy possession, eight armies from battle—the towns of Kilgwri openly [for thee], and the towns of the North without travail.

A highway was made to the north in dignity, earl with the golden cuirass, of handsome bearing; a lion in the chase and a father to all in thy kingdom.

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[1] See *The Union of England and Wales*, by W. Llewelyn Williams (Trans. Cymmrodorion Soc., 1907-8). [2] For text see Appendix I.

[3] The use of Tewdwr (Lat., *Theodorus*)—not Tudur (Lat., *tutor*)—is significant and is, no doubt, an appeal to the South. Henry could claim descent from Rhys ap Tewdwr, King of Deheubarth, through the marriage of Gwenllian, great grandaughter of Rhys, with Ednyfed Vychan. The reference, too, was the more appropriate because it recalled the story of Rhys's exile in Brittany.

The kingdoms and the lands of the fearless adventurer, a conqueror like Dyfnwal [thou wilt win]. Bendigedfran the warrior was less than thou when he fought of yore.

Thou art a stouter man, saith prophet, than the Sultan; thy bearing was purer. Patrick! who so noble in all the world, with thy four descents?

Thy descent was purer than baron or duke's, for it fell from a Briton. May none of our nation in this world be bereft of thee in our day.

This is a world that loves to behold thee and to call thee a second Jasper. Attain, through God, the height of the oak, great ruler of land and sea!

Make peaceful the earth to the innocent and weak, and win blessings; and drive the proud from Chester to Anglesey in humiliation until they are subdued.

Tame the Saxons; if thou livest, forgive not one single traitor. Patrick, thou art our prophet, a champion like mighty Efrog.

A hundred men are in thy halls seeking refuge from cares; a hundred countries will stand steadfast under thee; a hundred thousand be thy seed of generous goodmen, none of the seed of Adam has been so lavish.

Ivor, it hath been recorded, gave yellow gold to those who praised him. Patrick, by Curig! thou hast loved the loyal men, thou hast not given less of golden nobles.

Gifted is thy countenance in the midst of men; gifted are thy children. May God give the prospering of mighty trees, the stalwart green trees, in thy descendants—thou Eagle!

Take to wife a maid . . . . . A betrothed thou shalt have from the blood of dukes, a maid who is kindred to the knights.[1]

Uphold a court there in generous-wise, with food unstinted for everyone. Thy rhine-wine to all will they give: thy claret and thy liquor to drink like waters of the river;

And bread in stacks before the brave and thy kitchen like the Shrove Feast and thy cooks all wearied: food for the minstrels and full tables and the thrumming of harps and bounteous meals.

Demand thou the forts of Man, demand the men of Meirion; demand the land of the North and part of Ireland. Demand the Welsh to thy side and they will come to thee; demand England under thee and the despoiling of her people.

Thou wilt put thy fear on a hundred men in thy white armour—they will dare not to await thee unless they are brave. The strength

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[1] Elizabeth of York.

of the son of Iorwerth is in thy goodly arms—offspring of princes, thou of the many feasts!

Thy wine to the minstrels and the green gowns, and bread in stacks before the brave. By the holy God! no braggart art thou—to the poor thou art a good compatriot, without reproach.

When thou goest to tarry in the land of the brave unnoticed will be the strangers about thee: thou art of the same arm and the same breast as Lear—to a hundred warriors thou wilt cause care.

Woe to the proud, wherever thou art, under thy fear. Thou shalt have what thou wilt on thy throne. Where thou goest thou wilt be called a Peter of the fight, noble Patrick.

The vaticinations were addressed to the sense of nationalism which had been defined by Geoffrey and which still remained a potent force through the centuries of oppression and disappointment. But it was a national sentiment that centred on Henry Tudor. It was the call of an individual leader embodying the national aspirations rather than the devotion to an abstract idea of nationalism that, on this occasion as on many another in the history of Wales, united the people. Henry appealed to the ancient historic memories of the age, to the past that is ever present with the Celt; he was 'mab y darogan', in whom the prophecies were to be fulfilled; he was the long-promised hero who was to deliver the race from the intolerable yoke of the Saxon; he was the prince in the true Brutus succession, the descendant of Cadwaladr who was to wear the iron Crown of Britain.

> The Bards have befooled the world; God knows it, but he will save. Everyone speaks of a reckoning between our race and the foreigners, were we but to wait for one who will strike, a high-born Briton of the stock of Maelgwn, the peacock of Tudor, greatest of sires who will gild all with solid gold . . . . . The knell of the Saxon, when we win, will give a chief judge of our race . . . . . Cadwaladr shall come home, with his eightfold gifts, from his deeds . . . Woe to the black host beside the wave! When ill fortune comes—strangers!—Jasper[1] will

[1] Jasper Tudor.

> breed for us a Dragon—of the fortunate blood of Brutus is he . . . . A Bull of Anglesey to achieve; he is the hope of our race. A great gift is the birth of Jasper of the line of Cadwaladr of the beautiful spear. Horsa and Hengist were strangers to the Brut of Greece and the Round Table; Vortigern brought shame on us by giving them a share of our land. Jasper was ordained for us, he will draw us out of the net and set us free . . . . After travail will come the Lily Crown to Beli of Anglesey[1] . . .

The lore of Merlin was invoked and the Welsh hero promised by the mighty prophet had at last appeared. Dafydd Llwyd ap Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, great among vaticinators and the most learned poet of his age in Wales, shows clearly, in the poem which follows, the abiding power of the Merlin prophecies. I quote this example at some length, not only because it illustrates the passionate interest with which the bards followed Henry's movements (and from the reference to the fleet from Brittany it would seem that they were well informed), but because it contains some exquisite nature poetry. It is addressed to the birch—a tree hallowed by its associations with Merlin—and the second part of the poem contains the answer given by the birch to the questions put to it:

> The fine-haired white boled birch standing out boldly on the skirt of the wood, a nun art thou, in thy seclusion free to show thy hair—the broad fringes of the wayside—a gown of nap under thy green cap. Fair thou art. Myrddin Fardd of the great gifts has sung to thee: under thy roof of immaculate wattle has he sung. The far-off orchard of his muse was once a shelter to his Parchell. Thou hast once had, when war was unforgotten, the profound learning of Myrddin's art. Say, thou birch on the slope of Plinlimmon, what are the tidings? And thou, lance-like in beauty, what times are ahead?

After this innocuous and veiled opening the birch speaks and gives the answer:—

> Myrddin the wizard has said that . . . the wheel will turn . . . . And a fleet will cast off; from Brittany it will come to

[1] For text see Appendix II.

land . . . . David, grave of heart, the soul of miracles, said to Non, 'We are come from parents of noble race in this island'. Whoso can behold the eternal sun of the seed of Essyllt, away from all tumult. He who shall win Owen's crown will raise these above the orb and bring concord to our native land—bountiful Jesus!—and the island of Brutus undivided, ever better from this hence-forth.[1]

The vaticinations concur in making certain statements such as references to the Feast of the Virgin, the 'long yellow summer' (though this is an echo of earlier prophecies it may well have a topical significance)[2] the sailing of the fleet from Brittany, which would seem to suggest that they were used to disseminate information as to Henry's movements.

. . . . . When the Bull[3] comes from the far land to battle with his great ashen spear, to be an earl again in the land of Llewelyn, let the far-splitting spear shed the blood of the Saxons on the stubble. Then the Boar,[4] in Harry's day, will snarl when it comes to fighting with us. . . . . When the long yellow summer comes and victory comes to us and the spreading of the sails of Brittany and when the heat comes and when the fever is kindled, there are portents that victory will be given to us. When we sing together on the heights of Caergylchwr then there will be fire in Manaw and a proud progress through Anglesey . . . . and Denbigh awaits us and flames in Rhuddlan and Rhos. Entangled will be the fight and wonderful will be its end. . . . . And the world will become happy at last to blessed Gwynedd.[5]

Or again the appeal here is to an individual chieftain:

Heavy fighting shall we see, Watkin, on a day that will come upon us. The mighty battle and the Bull with the valiant horns

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[1] For text see Appendix III.

[2] The Battle of Bosworth was fought on 22nd August.

[3] Henry Tudor.

[4] Richard III.

[5] Text in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rept.* (*Welsh MSS.*), vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 408-9. The Commissioner has calendared this poem as an elegy to Prince Llewelyn, but it is clear from the contents and authorship that it belongs to this period.

are yet to come. The great allies seen yonder are reaching land: there is an angry end to the long yellow summer after all its bravery. . . . . It will not be long before the Boar is cold. . . . A brave hero with a golden cloak will turn to Gwynedd . . . . . and the shout will pierce through the hostile wintry wind to Gwent and Euas. . . . . It is land that the Bull of Anglesey will demand—the stone towers of three crowns. And when a mass is sung under the tested canopy of the tree, it becomes dead wood when Jesus Christ, who gave his pledge, is crowned; bark, leaves, yea! unwithered, will grow upon it—such is the beneficence of the Almighty.[1]

These poems, reviving as they did long deferred hopes, were undoubtedly an incentive to action. Not only did they unify all the elements that made for a homogeneous nationalism, but they stirred the bellicose spirit and the hatred for the English. The energy of a martial race, restless and chafing under misrule, had hitherto spent itself in feuds and tribal factions; it was now to be diverted to the greater issues of a cause that could claim to be truly national. At the same time, the bards did not forget to emphasize, there was a golden opportunity for revenge on the Saxon oppressor. The hour had long been delayed, but it was now at hand.

The dreams of the bards have been delayed—thus said an ancient seer. If he seeks to interpret a seer let him interpret by the records of the wise man. . . . . If there was truth in the past ages that evil times would come, there is across the seas afar a marvel of greatest promise. The day of the prophecies comes nearer us: the fate of the wicked coming to the land of Rhonwen. The first storm-cloud that I see is the great wrong to the men of blessed Cymru. There is an ancient sage near who will not dare to rebuke them . . . . Portents through Anglesey and beyond I saw and wept . . . . And the Eagle in golden trappings and the Dragon are sought for from afar . . . . An evil prophecy of a tall Dragon who will be set upon the Bull. The fleet of the Viper and Eagle will come to land from Manaw,

[1] For text see Appendix IV.

> and the Gwyddel will raise a shout and come nearer our nation. . . . . And the Hog[1] will return to the land, ravaging Cymru in hatred, with destruction in every town. . . . . The brutal ravagers will wait for a holy-day in Anglesey. . . . . For the Feast of the Virgin I will watch; they will come to Ty Ddewi. And the Cymry will judge the world, and there will be havoc there too. The son of Anglesey will gild his children and his ancestors. Let disaster visit the world beyond—eternal peace will remain with him.[2]

The vaticinations did their work well; they propagated a nationalism which, for the first time in Welsh history, was acceptable to the whole land. At least it was unquestioningly accepted in North Wales, because of the hold of the Tudors in that part. With the strong ties of kinship that existed it was no difficult task to commend to the men of Gwynedd a national cause that centred around Henry Tudor. How far these generalizations apply to South Wales it would, in the present lack of data, be unsafe to say. A considerable body of literature is calendared in the Historical Manuscripts Commission reports which should throw light on this subject, but, as yet, practically none of it has been published. There are indications, however, that the forces of nationalism were at work in the South as well.[3] To Gwynedd the appeal was direct:—

> Of like condition has wide Gwynedd been, following the crown, as the blind witless man who once was bound, I know it is so, by shackles to the foot of that ancient pillar of yore and who pulled in one hour the building down on his own head. Thus is Gwynedd to-day, bruised and with sore wounds, seeking a feeble prophet as a leader. There is one better—if they but knew—from Anglesey, one of ancient stock. Turn thy art, an Edward thou art, towards the North Sea—a great Bull art thou. Be kind of deed and word to the good Cymry, thou valiant Cymro. Paul of many gifts was once immeasurable in folly. . . . . Mary

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[1] Richard III.

[2] For text see Appendix V.

[3] See footnote 3, *ante*, p. 30.

> Magdalene was for a time wanton of body. They attained heaven and peace through Jesus who was buried. If all the Cymry have been full of faults and evil, yet they will do their part in thy need—thou beauteous Bull . . . .[1]

The following extract from a sombre brut seems to indicate the effort to consolidate the South.

> A fire has been kindled in the land from Cynan, it will not be decried, a yellow-tipped flickering flame to Owen of the blood of the South. Prophesying has there been of the Dragon of our race—the worthy lord of the territory. Under a cloak comes a leader and he that we name is the second Harry from Harry the outlaw—may he remain a hero to the ninth [generation]. Not easily will the Duke snare the swallow in his net. The descent of the noble hero, his three highest descents, are searched. Insistent are the Dragon and the Bull. Let Somerset watch him and may the brave [one] with the spear not leave a lily in the garden of one Lollard. . . . . The Bull of Gwynedd will engage in battle; the gate of Calais and Venice he will win. Secure for us is the Star of Owen. . . .[2]

The references here, as in other poems of the period, to an Owen is a heritage from the former prophecies. The name now associated with Owen of Manaw, Owen ap Edwin, Owen Lawgoch, Owen Glyndwr and Owen Tudor has passed, like Cadwaladr, into a figurative designation for the long expected leader. A curious story in the history of Ellis Griffith relates that Henry Tudor was first named Owen, and although by the command of the Lady Margaret the name was changed, the Welsh continued to call him Owen rather than Henry.[3]

As the hour of Henry's landing drew nearer the bards grew bolder; they spoke openly and fearlessly. The whole land was deeply stirred and the country-side was aflame with expectation. The fame of the vaticinations reached

[1] For text see Appendix VI.

[2] For text see Appendix VII.

[3] See extract from the Mostyn MS. of Ellis Griffith's *History of Wales*, printed in Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, pp. 14-15.

the uneasy King for in May, 1485, Richard sent a fleet to Southampton, having heard of some prophecy that the enemy would land at Milford, which he took to be a small village of that name in Hampshire.[1] The bards, in their enthusiasm, were confident of an immediate triumph:

> This is the day that will save us, [the day] for the beloved Bull to venture forth. The Mole will fall and a vengeance on him will go throughout the world; A Mole full of poison, a Jew of slender body . . . . . We are waiting for him [Henry] to show, when he comes, the Red Rose in high pomp. The Thames will run red with blood on that day, and then we shall be satisfied; their end will be on that day. No Saxon will go a second time to the battlefield. There is longing for Harry, there is hope for our race. His name comes down from the mountains as a two-edged sword, and his descent from high blood.[2]

But the most touching expression of the hope and fears of Wales on the eve of Bosworth is the Ode to St. David written by Dafydd Llwyd as a prayer to the saint to rescue the Welsh in their hour of need and to foretell the battle.[3] This stately poem, touched with mysticism and coloured by the lore and legends of the saints, is inspired by the noble and almost pathetic conviction of the ultimate triumph of the Welsh race. It opens with various references to the life and miracles of David and concludes with a prophecy of Bosworth and a prayer for victory:—

ODE TO SAINT DAVID.

David, before thou wast born Mynyw was ordained to pray to thee, and Patrick went to dwell from Mynyw across the far river.[4]

When Non came to the temple, immaculately pregnant by the

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[1] *Cont. Croy.*, 573.

[2] For text see *Ceinion Llenyddiaeth Gymreig*, vol. i, pp. 220-221.

[3] See note to Appendix VIII.

[4] Rhygyvarch, "Vita Sancti David" (*Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xxiv) § 3, Tandem animus Patricii sedatus libenter dimisit locum sanctum Dauid agio; . . . .navigavitque Patricius in Hiberniam.

chosen prince,[1] the prelate uprose from his chair and was not able to preach a word.[2]

God gifted thee what day thou wert born when thou wert named David. Thou gavest to the blind his sight unglimmering—on a day famed in story;[3]

Giving part of the white loaf and thy meal to a host, and of the unpoisoned portioned—and thy dog, ere he could turn and thy raven died there. . . . . .[4]

Though thou wert tenderly nurtured until clerkly age, strong as a warrior thou art; for thy need, thou stripling, thou wouldest not have feasts but bread and water.[5]

Eight score thousand have praised thee, David, for thy discourse on a day; the stags came from under sheltering trees afar to hearken on the same day.

Recorded is it that, within the bounds of Cwm Brefi, the solid earth rose up under thy feet.[6]

David, where thou art all the race is come; a long calamity is coming—the term of the stranger—heavy is my thought! . . . . . .

Many a prayer against utter disaster and weary they were without a place of refuge; in straits have we also been placed—set us free.

Those who are, who were, who will be,
All the wise, daily, to set us free,
To the Father of the Faith let all go with staff.

This is the time when strife will come; David is angered, with the blade in his hand, naming many in this age.

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[1] *Ibid.*, § 4. Invenitque rex obviam sibi sanctimonialem, nomine Nonnitam virginem, puellam pulcram nimis et decoram, quam concupiscens tetigit vi oppressam, et concepit filium suum David agium, que nec antea nec postea virum agnovit, sed in castitate mentis et corporis perseverans fidelissimam duxit vitam.

[2] *Ibid.*, § 5. Ingressa autem matre, subito Gildas obmutescens quasi clauso gutture tacuit. Cf. also *Historia Regum*, VII, iii. Et predicator Hyberniae propter infantem in utero crescentem obmutescet.

[3] *Ibid.* §§ 7, 11.

[4] *Ibid.*, § 38.

[5] *Ibid.*, § 2. . . . ita iste [David], vinum et siceram et omne quod inebriare potest respuens, beatam Deo vitam in pane tantum et aqua duxit.

[6] *Ibid.*, § 52. Cum autem clara voce omnibus et qui in proximo et qui in longinquo erant equaliter predicaret, terra, sub ipso accrescens, attollitur in collem.

It has been bruited that the Mole, who kills and will be killed, is near. Nine cares will be seen;

Restless men—woe to the Honey Isle!—after the conflict the blood of stallions and a bewildering fear among the folk:

And the sweat on shirts and blows on the body and the water in jerkins and Deira in pain and joy upon joy with the innocent;

And the levying of the tax that causes the battle to apparel warriors against the folk from the land of the Vine and White Flowers.

Behold the giving of battle; watch the sea and the colouring of the Thames for a cold season and the overthrowing of the fair-seeming leader.

In the white gleaming East, with long swords, in the setting of the sun, there will be most wear on the ashen spear. . . . .

Men will prepare to close the estuaries to get them ready to battle from the sea coasts to the land of Meirion;

Testing and smoothing all the chief havens, in their vengeance, and the portals of the south from Milford to Caledonia.

And the city of England will be reduced under thee; the world will be driven, the Boar made cold and the Mole will flee.

Many a nobleman will there be, many their wounds, many a generous duke will suffer pain, many an iron spear and mighty armour;

Many a banner shall fall to the ground daily, many a great shout in England. Where the flimsy woods are, there is the tip of the ash.

David, by thy holy grades, by thy spotless life, by the prayers and the Fridays, we pray thee also, David, grant us freedom at last from misery, O just Judge!

And this year Gwynedd looks for a hundred vengeances on the bodies of our foemen.

Foemen will remain this year in every field before the end of September. Every broad land, all of our race, every district, everybody for David.[1]

The prayer was answered; St. David was mindful of his children. The dragon of Cadwaladr, a 'red fiery dragon beaten upon white and green sarcenet',[2] floated over Henry's army at Bosworth field; the dragon of Wales and the Beaufort greyhound appear as supporters of the throne

[1] For text see Appendix VIII.

[2] Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 423.

on the coinage of the first Tudor monarch of England. Nor were these empty symbols; they represented facts. Henry had appealed to his own race and his nationality had decided the struggle. The crown of Cadwaladr rested again on the brows of a Briton.

APPENDICES.

I.

OWDL BADRIG.

Text:—British Museum Add. MSS. 14,971, fos. 170-172.
Variants:—(a)=B. Mus. Add. MS. 14,971, fos. 304b-307.
(b)=Aberystwyth MSS. 2, fo. 110b.

Llew gwych lle y delych dialwr | dros wan
Un synwyr ac Emprwr[1]
A gradd uwch garuaidd wr
yt ydoedd o waed Tewdwr

Tewdwr dy[2] genedl o ryw teidiau | n lluoedd
fal llewod ne fleiddiau
Dy dad ath fam ddiamau
erioed oedd yn oreu dau[3]

* * * *

Dy ras fal[4] Melwas miloedd | yn d ofyn
yn dyfod ith lysoedd
Wrth dy blas ath ddinasoedd
Kaer droea[5] fawr Kordref oedd

Trefydd[6] manaw sydd dan sel | ith feddiant
Wyth fyddin o ryfel
Trefi Kilgwri heb gel
Trefi r nordd heb ddim trafel

Gwnaud brifford ir nordd mewn urddas | yn Iarll
Yn eurlliw dy guras
Yn lâu snd yn lew n y sias
Yn dad arnun drwy r dyrnas

---

[1] un swydd ag Emprwr (b). [2] y (b). [3] yr ioed oedd orau dau (a); erioed oedd ore dau (b). [4] mal (a) [5] Droya (a). [6] Trefi (a).

Tyrnassoedd tiroedd anturiwr | di ofnog
fal dyfnwal gwnkwerwr
bendigeidran ymwanwr
yn lladd gynt llai oedd y gwr

Gwr wyd medd proffwyd praffach | no sawden
d'osodiad[1] oedd burach
Padrig pwy foneddigach
or byd erioed bedair iach[2]

Dy ach[3] oedd burach na barwn | ne ddug
ai ddigwydd[4] o fryttwn
na bo in oes[5] neb on nasiwn[6]
hebod ti[7] yn y byd hwn

hwn yw r byd i gyd a gar | dyweled
dy alw ail Siasbar
ewch drwy dduw uchder y ddâr
mawr o deyrn mor a daiar

Gwna ddaiar yn war i wirion | gweniaid[8]
ag ynill fendithion
a gyrr feilch o gaer i fon
yn ddifeilch oni ddofon

Gwna'n ddofion[9] saeson os oesswr | fyddi
na fadde un falsswr
Padrig wyd yn proffwydwr
fal Efrog nerthog yn wr

Kannwr yn dy stal rhag[10] gofalon
Kanwlad a sai danad yn sad union
Kanmil fo dy hil o haelion wyrda
ni bu o ryw Adda neb un roddion

Ifor a roddes e[11] fu arwyddion
i wyr ai moliannodd aur melynion
Padrig myn Kurig kywirion | hoffaist[12]
ni bu lai y rhoddaist noblau rhuddion

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[1] dy sodiad (a, b). [2] or byd erioed i bedair iach (a, b).
[3] iach (a, b). [4] ddigedd (a). [5] hoes (a). [6] onhassiwn (a).
[7] di (a). [8] gweiniaid (a); ag w . . . (b). [9] gwna ddofion (a); gwna yn ddofion (b).
[10] nag (a). [11] fo (a, b). [12] a hoffaist (a, b).

Dawnus yw dy ffriw ym mysg dynion
doniog[1] yw dy blant nid rhaid unon
kynnydd kadeirwydd[2] koed irion pybyr
a ro duw eryr ar dy wyrion

Prioda di ferch drwy annerchion
o chaniedir[3] yt aur a chan heidion
Dyweddi a geffi o gyffion dugiaid
merch agos o waed ir marchogion

Kynheliwch chwi lys ackw n haelion[4]
a bwydydd i bawb nid arbedon
dy rwmnai i bob rhai y rhôn dy glared[5]
dy fir iw yfed fal dwfr afon

Ar bara n dyrrau gar bron dewrion
ath gegin fal ynyd ath gogau n flinion
a lluniaeth i gler[6] a llownion fyrddau
a sio gan dannau a seigiau n dynion

Myn gaerau manaw myn i gwyr meirion
Myn dir[7] y nordd myn di[8] ran o werddon
Myn gymru ar du a dôn hyd attad
A myn loegr danad myn lygru i dynion.

Ti a derfi ganwr yn darfau gwnion
ni beiddian[9] daros oni byddan dewrion
Mae nerth mab Iorwerth ith burion freichiau
Wr tew i seigiau or tywysogion

dy win i gerddwyr dy ynau[10] gwyrddion
ar bara n dyrau gar bron dewrion
yn[11] duw lwyd nid wyd ar dôn rhuadwr
.Diwarth wyd o wladwr wrth dylodion[12]

---

[1] downog (a, b). [2] Kydeirwydd (b).
[3] cheniedir (a); chyniedir (b).
[4] Kynheliwch i lys ucho yn haelion (a, b).
[5] dy cwmnai i bob rhai nhw ai rhon dy glared (a, b).
[6] glerwyr (a, b). [7] di r (a). [8] dy (a).
[9] beiddion (a); beiddiwn (b).
[10] ownau (a, b). [11] myn (a, b).
[12] diwarth wyd o wladwr da wrth d'lodion (a).

Pan elych di i dario i wlad y dewrion
diystyra[1] yna fydd destronion
un ddeufraich ydwyd un ddwyfron | a llyr
i gant o filwyr i gwnaud ofalon

Gwae weision beilchion lle bych | tau darswyd
Kai n d'orsedd a fynnych
Dy alw a wnair lle delych
yn bedr y gad Badrig wych
Hywel Eurddren ai K.[2] [Bedo oedd. ai Kant].[3]

II.

BRUT.

Text:—Bleddyn MS. 3, fos. 48-49.[4]

Y Beirdd ynfydodd y byd
Duw ai gwyr ond ei gweryd
Pawb yn son am ddigoni
Rhwng anghyfiaith a'n iaith ni
Ond aros un a dery
O hil Faelgwn fritwn fry
Paen Tudur pena tadwys
A eura pawb o aur pwys

* * * *

[*line* 13] Clul Saeson wrth ddigoni
A rhod pen rhaith on iaith ni
Wath[5] oedran y gwr glana
A fagodd Mair ddiwair dda
Madws in wrth amodau
Llygru gwyr o fewn lloegr gau

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[1] dystyra (a); distyra (b).

[2] Hywel Eurddrein ai Kant (a); Howel Eurddren ai . . . . (b).

[3] Marginal insertion in a later hand.

[4] The Bleddyn MSS. are transcripts made by William Jones of Llangollen about 1865, and are now at Aberystwyth. For the texts and collations taken from these manuscripts I am indebted to my colleague, Mr. J. Glyn Davies. To him also, on all the difficulties of metre, syntax and interpretation in fifteenth century literature my debt is that of a pupil, and cannot be adequately acknowledged here.

[5] = fe aeth *or* wrth.

Ag ynill wrth fawr gariad
I tir ai tai yw'n tref tad
Gwiliwch waith gwelwch weithiau
Yr ych yn achub ei ran

* * * *

[*line* 29] Cadwaladr a ddaw adref
Wythryw dawn oi weithred ef
Ych o Gymru gyru r gad
Ar Llew a ddifa r lleuad
Gwae r llu du gerllaw r don
Os daw r anhap estronion
Jaspart a fag in ddragwn
Gwaed Bruttus happus yw hwn
Gwers yr angel ni chelir
Hwyntau biau r tyrau tir
Darw o Fon yn digoni
Hwn yw gobaith yr iaith ni
Mawr yw gras eni Jasper
Hil Gadwaladr paladr per
Hors a Hengest oedd estron
I Friwt Groeg ag i Fort Gron
Gwrtheyrn a wnaeth gwarth i ni
Roi rhan o r tir ir rhieni
Jaspar in a ddarparwyd
Ynte yn rhydd an tyn or rhwyd

* * * *

[*line* 57] Wedi cur i daw coron
Lili i Feli o Fon. D. Llwyd.

III.

CYWYDD BRUT.[1]

Text:—B. Mus. Stowe MS. 959 (written *circa* 1570).
Variants:—(a)=B. Mus. Add. MS. 14866 (written 1587).
(b)=Bleddyn MS. 3, fo. 61.

Y vedwenn vonnwen veinwallt[2]
Eglur wyd o gil yr allt

---

[1] (a) has *Ymofyn ar fedwen . . . pa fyd a fyddai achos nad oedd fodlon ir brenin Richard III. a darogan Harri 7. a rhyddhineb i Gymbru.*

[2] fanwallt (a).

mynaches wyd mewn achydd[1]
Eglur wyd dan n gwl rydd[2]
Privon[3] sidanydd ywch priffyrdd
O dair[4] dann dy gappann gwyrdd
myrddin vardd mawr ddawn y vodd
wyt deg iawn yt n ganodd
dan dy do u fo a vy[5]
per wiw[6] adail yn prydy
y[7] Fallen ber awen bell
bai orchwydd[8] gynt ai[9] barchell
kevaist draw kyfrwyb drin[10]
mawrddyst kyfrwyddyd[11] Myrddin
manog[12] y vedwen ywch[13] mynydd
Pennlimon bu son a sydd
A ffa vyd enyd onawg
garw wyr hardd a gair yr hawg[14]

* * * *

[*line* 23] myrddin ddewin a ddywod
kynn traio a rain[15] y try rhod

* * * *

[*line* 53] A r[16] llynges a ollyngir
o lydaw i daw i dir
gwyr llychlyn a dynn yrdwr[17]
drwy gennad a[18] droganwr

* * * *

Dewi ddifri i ddwyfron[19]
Wyrth nef a ddwad wrth Non[19]

---

[1] echwydd (a).
[2] gul iawn dan goel o wydd (a); eglur wallt dan egwl rudd (b).
[3] preiffion (b). [4] o dair bann dy gappan gwyrdd (a); O ban (b).
[5] a than dy do efe fy (a); dan dy do y fo a fu (b).
[6] pur iawn (a); pur wiw (b). [7] oi (b). [8] bu orchudd (b).
[9] iw (b).
[10] kefaist draw kofiast y drin (a); cefaist draw oedd cofus drin (b).
[11] mawrddysg gel fyddyd (a, b). [12] mynag (b). [13] is (b).
[14] gwar waew hardd a geir y rhawg (b).
[15] kyn traio rhain y try rhod (a); cyn treio hyn y try rhod (b).
[16] a (a, b). [17] llychlyn a dyn dros y dwr (b). [18] y (a, b).
[19] These lines do not occur in Stowe, but in (a) as given, and (b) reads—

"dewi ddifri i dwyfron
wyrthnwyf dywed wrth Non."

[*line* 63] a r[1] ynys o rieni
o raday mair[2] y rydym ni
a hanffo[3] heb gyffro gwyllt
haul oysawg[4] o hil Essyllt
gwyr newydd[5] goron Owain
ywch y rod a ddyrcha rain
a chael kymmod y r[6] brodir
gwiw Iesu hael ag oes hir
Ag ynys Bryttys heb rann
y hil well o hynn allann.[7]

D. Llwyd.

IV.

CYWYDD BRUT.

Text:—Bleddyn MSS. fos. 52-53.

[*line* 25] Eto cawn drin watcyn drom
Ddiwrnod a ddaw arnom
I mae cadeu mawr cedyrn
A r Tarw n ol gwrol i gyrn
Mae r Aliwns mawr a welir
Ynghod yn dyfod i dir
Mae r haf wedi mawr ryfig
Hir felyn terfyn oed dig
Mae r gwyddyl in ymyl ni
Bydd byr mae r Baedd heb oeri

* * * *

[*line* 45] Ai gwaedd a gyraedd drwy gas
Gwynt gauaf Gwent ag Euas
Llawer deigr llwyr i digiwyd
Llesau r forwyn ar llwyn llwyd
A char i llaw ni cheir lles
I doe ddug a dwy ddug es
Tir a fyn y Tarw o Fon
Tyrau cerig tair coron
A phan ganer offeren
Tan frig profedig y pren

---

[1] yn r (a, b). [2] mawr (a, b). [3] ganffo (a, b).
[4] oesawl (b). [5] gwr a wna (b). [6] ir (b).
[7] hi yn well well-o hyn allen (a); yn wellwell o hyn allan (b).

A grinodd pan goroned
Iesu Grist a roes i gred
Rhisgl a dial diadfail do
Da yw fawrner a dyf arno

* * * *

D. Llwyd.

V.

CYWYDD BRUT.

Text:—Bleddyn MS. 3, fos. 59-61.
Variants from B. Mus. Add. MS. 14886 (written c. 1643).

Breuddwydion beirdd a oedwyd[1]
Hyny fu 'n[2] llais hen was llwyd
Os dewin[3] a gais[4] deall
Aed i roi cof awdwr call
Yn ben[5] bardd gwiwlan y bu
Gado hyn gwedi hynny[6]
Ar lleian[7] aeth ir llwyn on
Yn fwriol merch fain Feirion
Os oedd gwir yr oesoedd gynt[8]
Fe[9] ddaw adwyth a ddwedynt
Y mae ar draws y mor draw[10]
Rhyfeddod rwyddaf addaw
Amseroedd y[11] mesurau
Ini sydd yn neshau
Ammod yn dyfod i dir[12]
Rhonwen ar y rhai enwir[13]
Cynta cafod a adwaen
Cam mawr i wyr Cymru wen
Mae gwr llwyd yma gerllaw
Ni beiddia i rhybuddiaw

* * * *

Arwyddion trwy Fon hyd draw
A welas es i wylaw
Rhufain adre os cefais
Mae yma son am un Sais

---

[1] Briddwydon bairdd a adwyd. [2] hynu a fyn. [3] dewi.
[4] roes. [5] lan. [6] gwido hen gwedy hynny. [7] y llaian.
[8] os gwir i gid oesi gynt. [9] a. [10] mae ar y draws or mor draw.
[11] a. [12] am nodau terfynau tir. [13] Rhonwen au rann a rennir.

Yr hen wr ir dwr a dyn
Ag a diria yn aderyn
Ar Eryr wedi oreuraw
A draig a ofynir draw
* * * *
Darogan hyll dragwn hir
Ar y Tarw hwnt a yrir
Llynges gwiber ag eryr
O Fanaw a daw i dir
A gwyddel a wna gweiddi
Nesau nod y nasiwn ni
* * * *
A sathru Cymru mewn cas
A dinyster ymhob dinas
Ag yn honiad gan hyny
Yr ar Fran ir Yri fry
Ym ddisgwyl am wyl ym Mon
A wna herwyr amhirion
* * * *
Un nos i gyd aros y gwn
A gwyl Fair i gwylia fi
Y deuant i dy Dewi
A Chymru yn barnu r byd
A hafog yma hefyd
Ef o fyn y mab o Fon
Euro i blant ai wyrion
Heddwch byd trwch ir byd draw
Dragwyddawl a drig iddaw.

D. Llwyd.

VI.

CYWYDD BRUT.

Text:—B. Mus. Add. MS. 14,894, fos. 83-84b [written *circa* 1620].
Variant:—(a)=Bleddyn MS. 3.

Un agwedd vu wynedd vaith
Yn dilyn[1] am y dalaith
A gwr dall angall yngod
Kas iawn wedyn kisio mod[2]
Yr rhwym a fae yn rhemynt[3]
wrth fon yr hen golofn gynt

[1] a Dulyn (a). [2] a fu mi a wn i fod (a).
[3] yn rhwym yn aur rhemynt (a).

a dynnodd yn oed unawr
i lys[1] ar i wartha i lawr[2]
felly mae gwynedd heddiw
yn ysig friwedig friw
keisio a wnan ddroganwr[3]
o fon a wnaethon yn wr
mae un gwell pe deallynt
o fon i hen gyffion[4] gynt
tro dy ddart Edwart ydwyt[5]
trwy y mor rhudd tramawr wyt.[6]
Bydd drugarog ddiogan
gymro glew wrth gymry glan
pawl a fu sawl yn i swydd[7]
oedd anfeidrol gynt onfydrwydd[8]
gwirion fodd gore un fu[9]
a las ynghweryl Iesu
mair Fadlen a fu enyd
o gorph aniwair i gyd
Kowsant nef a thangnefedd
gan Iesu a fu yn i fedd
o bu holl gymru i gyd
beiau a drwg i bywyd
hwy[10] a ddon dan[11] ddigoni
tarw teg yn dy raid di
Kymer wr[12] y Kymru oll
yr dorfuedd don yn darfoll[13]
Kyrch in gwlad gariad gwiwrym[14]
yn llew ach gledde yn llym[15]
Tarw aurliw tiria ir lan[16]
tor y nod[17] amod ymwan.
dyror gwystfilod[18] dewrion
ar dy raid wr dewr or on[19]

---

[1] y llys (a). [2] ir llawr (a). [3] ceisio gwan ddaroganwr (a).
[4] gofion (a). [5] tro ddart wyr Edwart ydwyt (a).
[6] Tuar mor rhudd Tarw mawr wyt (a).
[7] allu swydd (a). [8] anfeidrol gynt o'nfydrwyd (a).
[9] gwirion ford gore un a fu (a). [10] hwynt (a). [11] i (a).
[12] wynt (a). [13] yn dorfeydd gwyn yn dy arfoll (a).
[14] cyrch y mor goror gwiwrym (a).
[15] yn llew cleddwaed yn llym (a).
[16] taria ar lu taro ir lan (a). [17] tro or nod (a).
[18] bwystfiloedd (a). [19] ar dy fraich Ior dewr ai on (a).

galw r eryr gole r euraid
oth ryw ai gwion ith raid
ffraingc ith law a ddaw yn diwyd
a gylch ar almaen i gyd[1]
kwysa i nen kais ar unwaith[2]
orffen a diben y daith[3]
kai wyr haid yn blaid garw blin[4]
kais dynu ffordd[5] kystenin
ffyrd Elen a fforddoli
i gael y groes yn does di[6]
ti yw r llew ar iddewon
twr frig fal y tarw o fon
tro yn dy ol[7] fal yr olwyn
y tarw kryf er tori i krwyn[8]
rheola gwbl or helynt
dan yr haul don ar hynt
dial gam[9] ddinam ddownair
difrewio mab dwyfron mair[10]
Tro drachefn da yw dy ddenfydd[11]
ath ddonie ffawd ith hen ffydd
taria ynghwlen enyd
ti ar groes dros bum oes byd
rhai a fyn dalw y tarw teg[12]
tri gaiaf un tro gofeg
tarw fydd dwys ir trefydd[13] da
tragywydd y tri gana.

dafudd llwyd ai Kant.

---

[1] ar almaen a gaen i gyd (a).
[2] coelia ir hen cael ar unwaith (a).
[3] wardd ar ben diben y daith (a).
[4] cei wyr y blaidd carw blin (a).
[5] ffyrdd.
[6] i gael croes yn d'einioes di (a).
[7] tro yn ol (a).
[8] carw cryf a bair torri crwyn (a).
[9] am (a).
[10] ai friwie mab o fru mair (a).
[11] tro drachefn tref drychaurydd (a).
[12] rhai syn alw y Tarw teg (a).
[13] Tarw wyt ti y trifydd da (a).

VII.

CYWYDD BRUD.

Text:—B. Mus. Add. MS. 14,887 (*circa* 1500) and Bleddyn MS. 3, fos. 56-58.[1]

Variants.—(a)=Bleddyn MS. 3, fos. 56-58.
(b)=text printed in *Ceinion Llenyddiaeth Gymreig* [ed. Owen Jones], vol. I, part iv, p. 220.

Ynynwyd[2] tan yn yn[3] tir
o gynan ni o genir[4]
at ewyn[5] brig felyn brau
at owain o waed teau[6]
darogan oedd draig[7] on iaith
teilwng perchenog[8] talaith
y dan hug[9] y doe[10] fugail
ai henwi yr[11] hwn yw r ail
Harri o harri herwr
tarried hyd nawed yn wr
Anodd i ddwg yn i ddol[12]
dreio[13] adar y wenol
iacha r yn gwawr uch y gwaed[14]
a chelu[15] tri uchelwaed
tair[16] yw draig tarw a dragwn
gwlad y ha gwilied[17] ar hwn
nated ai[18] ddewred ai ddart
lili yngardd un lolart
gnawd ydyw gwnaed i adar
dolphin ai werin yn war
rhon ansis[19] ar un insel
rhoed gis ar baril ai[20] bel

---

[1] Add. MS. 14,887 contains lines 1 to 54 of this poem, not 1 to 34 as stated in the Hist. MSS. Com. Rept. (Welsh MSS.), vol. ii, pt. iv, p. 1072. For lines 54 to end I have used the Bleddyn text.

[2] enynwyd (a, b) [3] y (a); ein (b). [4] o gynnen a ogenir (b).
[5] pentewyn (a); a'u tewyn (b). [6] Deau (a, b). [7] un (a).
[8] berchenog (b). [9] o dau fwg (a); o dan hug (b).
[10] daw (b). [11] Ar enw Rhys (b).
[12] unodd i ddwg hyd yn i ddol (a); anhawdd i Ddug yn ei ddol (b).
[13] dwino (a).
[14] iacha'r gwr ucha un gwaed (a); achau gwawr, uwch y gwaed (b).
[15] chwilio (a). [16] taer (b). [17] galwed (b). [18] ei (b).
[19] pen ansient (a). [20] poed gis i Barli ai bel (a); i Baris ar (b).

bell bell i bybyr bell bobl
ystynudd hyd gonstinobyl
tarw teilwng tair talaith
torred iw wlad farchned faith
a throi babilon aflonydd[1]
ar hen ffeils[2] ai rhoi yn y fydd
o daeth[3] ir pren y wenol
gaded i ni geidwad yn ol
gair o gyngor am goryw[4]
gwyped pen ated pwyn yw[5]
ofni rwyf fi ryw fyd
aros hyn ir ys[6] ennyd
y dawr kynser[7] i dy r kwnsel
dyrys[8] iawn pan doro i sel
pan doro r hedd pan dro r rhod[9]
in tir y pesgir y pysgod[10]
sathrant lle tariant teirawr
borfydd yn y mynydd mawr[11]
bwrio r teirw obru on tiroedd[12]
bwriad hyn yn y brut oedd[13]
beichio bloedd o is heb les[14]
a wna buwch yn i[15] buches
Arth a ofun wrth wyneb
a baedd ni na[16] budd i neb
a chath a fwrw ei chathod[17]
y gwaed reiol yn ol nod
a thros for wrth angori
y tarw ar[18] oen on tir ni
ag or daith eglur[19] y don
diwedd dwy flynedd flinion

---

[1] a throi r bobl yn aflonydd (a). [2] ffeith (a). [3] od aeth (b).
[4] ym oerwy (a).
[5] gwyped pan alled pa un yw (a); gwyped pen ated pan yw (b).
[6] er ys (a, b). [7] dawr cainsiel (a); daw'r cansel (b).
[8] diras (b). [9] pan dreio'r hedd pan dry rhod (b).
[10] yn y tir y pesgir y pysgod (a) i'n tir y pesgir pysgod (b).
[11] Borfeuydd y mynydd mawr (b).
[12] bwriant fwy obry yn tiroedd (a).
[13] bwrw at hyn yr y brut oedd (a); a bwriad hen o'r Brut oedd (b).
[14] beichio a bloeddio heb les (a, b). [15] ei (b).
[16] wna (a, b). [17] a'i chwythod (b).
[18] a'n (b). [19] egyr (b).

ar keiliog a bair kiliaw
kyn diwedd y drydedd draw
deffry dynion or ddiffrwst
gwae r crangc a hil Ffrangc or ffrwst[1]
gwae geudod pysgod or Pasg
a deuben wedi deubasg[2]
y Blaidd a ddaw a bloedd ddig
yr haf i dorri rhyfig
ar ael hyn ar ol hyny[3]
llewpart a ffwlpart a ffy
ar gath ar ol gwnaeth[4] a red
ar eryr ar i wared
trined y tarw o wynedd
porth Calis a Fenis a fedd[5]
Siwr inni seren owain[6]
ar hynt a duw gyda rhain[7]
ni wna dan y wenol[8]
y[9] crangc fyth iw[10] nyth yn ol
D. Llwyd.[11]

VIII.

AWDL DEWI SANT.

Text:—British Museum Add. MSS. 14,887 [written *circa* 1600].
Variants:—(a)=B. Mus. Add. MSS. 14,878 [*c.* 1692].
(b)=Llanstephan MS. 47 [*c.* 1632]; portion of the text printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xxiii, pp. 373-4.
(c)=Gwallter Mechain Miscellanies, vol. i, pp. 70-4.

87 Dewi kyn deni[12] kawn[13] ordeiniaw|mann[14]
Myniw ith weddiaw
A Phadrig aeth i drigaw
O Fyniw dros yr afon draw

---

[1] gwae'r cranc, gwae'r ffranc o'r ffrwst (b).
[2] gwae'r dyben gwedi'r deubasg (b).
[3] a wnel hyn yn ol hyny (b). [4] gwaith (b).
[5] Borth Cwlis Venis a'i fedd (b).
[6] Siwrneied seren Owain (b).
[7] a rhed yn rhwydd gyda rhain (b).
[8] ni ad adar y wenol (b). [9] i'r (b). [10] ei.
[11] (b) attributes this poem to Robin ddu.
[12] d'eni (c). [13] kaid (b): ceid (c). [14] mwyn (a, b)

Non a ddod ir deml ynddiwair feichiog[1]
O dwysog dewisair
Ar prelad aeth oi gadair[2]
Heb allu[3] pregethu gair

Duw ath donies di y dydd ith aned[4]
Pen ith henwyd Davydd
Rhoist ir dall rhyw ystyr dydd[5]
I[6] drem heb ddim godremydd[7]

Rhoi rhan or dorth gan ath ginio . . . . .
Oedd le heb wen wyno[8]
Ath gi kyn troi[9] un tro
Ath fran ayth i[10] farw yno

Bleyddyd[11] a wnaeth benaeth budd
Yr ennaint yn ddirinwedd
Dwr praff i dyfr or pridd[12]
I gael adwyth or[13] gwledydd
87b [be]ndigaist hyd pen dygiodd
or serthyd yr byd yw'r badd[14]

---

[1] Non a ddod'r deml yn ddiwair feichiog (a); Ban ddaeth Non ir deml bun ddiwair feichiog (c).

[2] Ar prelad aeth o'r gadair (a); Aeth y prelad o'i gadair (c); Cf. et praedicator Hyberniae propter infantem in utero crescentem obmutescet (*Historia Regum Britanniae*, lib. VII, c. iii, p. 93, ed. San Marte, Halle, 1854). A phregethwr Iwerdon aeyd mut achaws y mab yntyfu ygkallon y vam. [*Ystorya Brenhined y Brytanyeit* in *Red Book of Hergest*, vol. ii, p. 145, ed. Rhŷs and Evans. Oxford, 1890.]

[3] fedru (c).

[4] A duw a'th ddoniad y dydd yth aned (a); Duw ath donies ar y dydd ith aned (c).

[5] rhoist ir dâll hêb ddim rhwystr dydd (a); Rhoist oi dall (c).

[6] ei (c).

[7] yn ddi odrymmydd (a); heb ddim godrumydd (c).

[8] Rhoi rhan o'th dorth gan ath ginio i lu
heb le i wenwyno (a);
Rhan or dorth gann ar ginio a lewaist
Oedd le heb wenwyno (c).

[9] troddi (a); torri (c). [10] yn (a). [11] Bleiddud (a).

[12] y dwfr prâff difar or pridd (a). [13] ir (a).

[14] sierthydd ir byd y badd (a).

Er dy fagu yn gu yn oed gwr|o grefydd[1]
Kyn gryfed a milwr[2]
Ansodd ni[3] mynnodd meinwr
Yn dy raid[4] ond bara a dwr

Yr oedd ith bregeth[5] ryw ddydd|ith ganmol
Wythugeinmil dafydd
Daeth hyddod o gysgod gwydd
Draw i wrando yn yr undydd[6]

Kof awdyr a wnaeth kyfodi[7]|yn wir
Dan[8] oror Kwm Brifi[9]
Yn dir tew dan dy draed ti
Y ddaiar yn llan ddewi

[De]wi lle r wyd aed oll yr iaith
[Dy]fod a[10] mae ryw adfyd maith
[Te]rm anghyfiaith trwm anghofion[11]

. . . . i gymru rhag drwg amraint[12]
[Dr]aw dy foli drud o feiliaint[13]
Ag wylo naint[14] a galw ar Non

Llawer gweddi rhag llwyr godded
[A] blin oyddunt heb le nodded[15]
Dygu in[16] rhodded dwg ni yn rhyddion

Y sawl y[17] sydd a fu a fydd[18]
Pob doeth[19] pob dydd in rhoi ni n rhydd
88 At pab y ffydd aed pawb ai ffon

---

[1] Er dy fagu 'n gu 'n oed gwr, o grefydd (a).
[2] yn gryfach na milwr (a); gan gryfed a milwr (c). [3] nis (a, c).
[4] ni bu raid (a, c). [5] Kai ddaeth i'th bregeth (a).
[6] draw i wrandaw 'n yr undydd (a): I wrando yn yr undydd (c).
[7] Côf ydiw a wnaeth cyfodi (a); Cof ydyw yn ol cyfodi (c).
[8] ar (a). [9] Brefi (a, c). [10] i (b); y (c).
[11] anghyfion (a, b); yw nghofion (c).
[12] Dyry i Gymmru rag drwg amraint (a, b); dir i Gymbru rhag drwg am braint (c).
[13] afaelaint (a, b); foliant (c). [14] a gwilio'r naint (a, b).
[15] a blin oi ddwyn heb lonydded (a, b); a blin oedden heb le nodded (c).
[16] duw gwyn (a, b). [17] a (b). [18] a fu ag a fydd (a, b).
[19] pawb doed (a, b).

Dyma r amser y daw r[1] ymswrn[2]
Dewi yn ddig[3] a dur yn i ddwrn
Enwi swrn yn yr oes hon[4]

Ar bump a deg i maer gwir[5]
Y wadd a ladd ag a leddir
Ag fo[6] welir naw[7] ofalon.

Gwyr aflonydd gwae r fel ynys
Gwedi yr ymwrdd[8] gwaed yr emys
A braw dyrus rhwng brodorion

A chwys ar grys a chis[9] ar groen
A dwfr ymhais a deifr ymhoen
A hoyn ar goroen[10] ar y gwirion

A bwrw y dreth a bair y drin
I drwsio gwyr ar draws gwerin
O[11] wlad y gwin flodau gwinion

Gwelwch roi maes ar y gweilch or mor
A lliwio temys oerllyd tymor[12]
A bwrw blaynor y bobl union[13]

Yn y dwyrain ganaid[14] araul
A chleddau hir machlud haul
Y mwya i draul y myd ar on[15]

Dau i wiliaw oni dialwyr[16]
O dau efyn yn gofyn gwyr
droganwyr dur gwinnion[17]

---

[1] i daro 'r (a). [2] ymsonwrn (c).
[3] a dewr yn ddig (a, b); duw ner yn ddig (c).
[4] ar enwi swrn o'r ynys honn (a).
[5] Ar bum a dêg ei manegir (a); mae yn agos o mynegir (c).
[6] ef a (c). [7] mawr (a).
[8] gwedi ymmwrdd (a). [9] chwys (a).
[10] y rai gorwen (a); a hoen a gorhoen (c). [11] i (c).
[12] Gwelwch roi maes gwiliwch y mor
A lliwio Tems oi llid tymmor (a).
[13] a bwrw blaenor barabl union (c).
[14] ganeid (c). [15] mwya ei draul o ddyma hŷd Rôn (a)
[16] Dau a welwn a'n dialwyr (a).
[17] daroganwyr a dûr gwynnion (a).

Gwyr a barant gau r aberoedd
88b Er bateilio ir bateloedd
O du r moroedd i dir Meirion[1]

Profi llyfnu prif holl hafnau[2]
Wrth eu dial arth y ddau[3]
O ddwy[4] gleddau i[5] gelyddon

Llygru dinas lloygr i danadd[6]
A gyrru r byd ag oeri r badd
A chloir[7] wadd uchel roddion[8]

Llawer baner ir llawr beunydd[9]
Llawer gawr fawr yn Lloygr[10] a fydd
Lle mae brau gwŷdd llyma brig on

Dewi yr ydym er[11] dy radau
Bywyd arwain[12] ar baderau
Y gwenerau ag yn wirion

[Ath] weddiaw dithe ddewi[13]
[Rhyd]dyd unwaith rhyw dad eni[14]
[Ith] rhieni athro union[15]

A leni disgwyl[16] Wynedd
[Y] kawn weled kan nialedd
Yn gelanedd on[17] gelynion

---

[1] a dyrr muroedd ar dir meirion (a). [2] haforau (c).
[3] byrth y dehau (c). [4] ddau (a); deau (c).
[5] hyd (c).
[6] llygru dinas lloegr llydanadd (a); A llygr ddinas Lloegr y danadd (c). [7] chilio r (c).
[8] (c) inserts:—

Llawer urddol llwyr ei ddolur
Llawer dug hael llwyn y daw cur
Llawer gwayw dur a llurig don

[9] baenydd (b). [10] lloegria vydd (b).
[11] Dewi rydym ar (a, b). [12] eurer (a); aürer (b).
[13] ath weddiaw dithau Ddewi (a, b); Ith weddiaw weithiau Ddewi (c).
[14] rwydd-dâd a wnaeth rydd-did i ni (a); rhyddid a wnaeth rhywdd-dad i ni (b); rhyddid unwaith rho dad ini (c).
[15] O drueni ynad yr union (c). [16] Ag y leni y goel (a, b).
[17] yn (b); ein (c).

Gelynion a drig i leni|ymhob maes[1]
[Kyn] diwedd mis medi
[Pob tir] maith pawb on iaith ni
[Pob tue]dd pawb at ddewi
dafydd nanmor ai kant.[2]

---

[1] yn y maes (c).

[2] Dafydd llwyd ap llewelyn ap gryffydd ai kant (a, b, c).

[Note: Gwallter Mechain entitles this ode "*Awdl Dewi Sant: sef gweddi arnau er gwared Cymru yn ei hadfyd ac i frudiaw gwaith Fosworth*".]

CORRIGENDA.

Page 8, line 11, for *besides* read *beside.*
Page 8, fn. 3, for *pomeretur* read *poneretur.*
Page 9, line 2, for *unshakened* read *unshaken.*
Page 10, line 5. for *so convey* read *to convey.*
Page 12, fn. 5, for *tome* read *tom.*
„ „ for *Balaam et Heliú* read *Balaam et Heliú.*
Page 15, line 27, for *Cumean* read *Cumæan.*